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# MORAL PANIC AND HOLLAND'S LIBERTINE YOUTH OF THE 1650s AND 1660s

Benjamin B. Roberts  
Leendert F. Groenendijk

*During the 1650s and 1660s, the Dutch Republic witnessed a wave of moral panic created by moralists. Every natural disaster, economic setback, and war that the Republic was involved in was considered to be a sign of God's wrath on Holland's newly acquired freedom, wealth, and secular society. Much of the finger-pointing was directed toward Holland's young people, who were accused of being vain, defying the Sabbath, visiting the theater, gambling, drinking, and fornicating. These accusations were, however, misplaced. This article examines the moral crusade of the 1650s and 1660s, and discovers that moralists were more upset that the Dutch Republic became a secular society and did not evolve into a theocratic state or "Dutch Israel," as they had hoped. Holland's youth were used as a scapegoat to create moral panic among political leaders, so they would reform Holland's secular society.*

**Keywords:** moral panic; youth; pietism, secularization; early modern; Dutch Republic

Two days after September 11, 2001, American television evangelist Jerry Falwell stated that the attacks were God's judgment on America for "throwing God out of the public square, out of the schools." In addition to the terrorists, Falwell also blamed

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pagans, abortionists, feminists, homosexuals, ACLU, and the People for the American Way, "who tried to secularize America." The evangelical minister thought that "God may have allowed what the nation deserved because of moral decay and said Americans should have an attitude of repentance before God and asking for God's protection."<sup>1</sup> The 9/11 Commission Report, however, failed to find any of these groups or the decay of America's moral fabric at fault in their official investigation.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Falwell's call for moral reform and atonement after a national tragedy was not new. During the 1650s and 1660s, a wave of national disasters ranging from wars to floods, fires, explosions, and a smallpox epidemic plagued the Dutch Republic. In these catastrophes, ministers foresaw harbingers of God's wrath on the young Protestant Republic. Holland's youth were given partial blame because of their wayward lifestyle.

Since the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, young people from all over Europe were lured to Dutch cities because of the Republic's booming economy. Dutch cities had large concentrations of unmarried young people.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, this group had too much leisure time, which became a concern of municipal authorities and moralists such as Amsterdam's well-known minister Petrus Wittewrongel, who authored a housefather book that instructed parents and children about the evils of drinking, gambling, dancing, and fornicating, which he believed were the root of all evil in Dutch society.<sup>4</sup> Each natural disaster, war, economic setback, or social mayhem was a favorite pretense for moralists to lecture congregations on how Holland's young people had gone astray. This article first addresses how youths were depicted in sermons of atonement and other moral treatises when it came to vices such as vanity, defying the Sabbath, theatergoing, gambling, drinking, and fornicating. Thereafter, the moral crusaders are investigated to establish if they had adequate grounds for condemning the young people for unleashing a period of moral panic during the 1650s and 1660s.

### AN AFFLUENT LIFESTYLE

In 1648, when the Dutch Republic signed the Treaty of Westphalia that officially ended eighty years of war with Spain for independence, it was the richest country in the world. Whereas most countries would have found themselves economically and culturally exhausted, the Dutch Republic was at the height of its economic, cultural, and scientific Golden Age. During the course of the war, the towns in the marshes of the Northern Netherlands had emerged into cities of international commerce and industry. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, many wealthy Protestant merchants had fled and immigrated to the Northern Netherlands, and reestablished their trade connections. In the independent Dutch Republic, merchants had more freedom and were more entrepreneurial in their commercial undertakings than they had been under the Spanish crown in the Southern Netherlands. Trading companies such as the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company) and the Westindische Compagnie (Dutch West India Company), which were established respectively in 1602 and 1612, opened trade routes to the Far East and the Americas, making Amsterdam the main staple market for goods between its already well-established Baltic Sea trade, with the Levant, and southern Europe with the East and West Indies. Along with Amsterdam's commercial success, other cities in the Dutch Republic prospered, such as Leiden with its linen industry, Delft's and Haarlem's beer breweries, and the Zaan area with its pitch, tar, soap, and paint industries.<sup>5</sup> At the zenith of its commercial success, Amsterdam constructed a new town hall of grandeur. By the time it was completed, the edifice

featured Italian marble floors and sculptures of classical figures that towered above Dam Square, the city's main plaza. It was by far the largest building in the city and had outsized the adjacent Nieuwe Kerk (New Church), and it probably symbolized the ongoing power struggle between the Dutch Reformed Church and the municipal government. On viewing its interior, Amsterdam's burghers regarded their city hall as the eighth wonder of the world.<sup>6</sup> During the Dutch Golden Age, the population of Amsterdam and other cities in the Republic grew by leaps and bounds. Whereas in 1600 Amsterdam was an average-sized large town of 30,000 inhabitants, by the late 1660s it had sprouted into the third largest city in Europe with a population of more than 200,000. By the mid-seventeenth century, Amsterdam had drawn a wide range of religious and economic immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, Scandinavia, the German states, and the Iberian Peninsula. Many of these newcomers were young people who either came as apprentices and later joined a guild, or migrated to the city to find employment in its booming economy as sailors, textile workers, domestic servants, or in some cases prostitutes. With a large percentage of the population being young, male, and unmarried, authorities were challenged with maintaining law and order. Moreover, Amsterdam's municipal government with its institutions such as schools, orphanages, alms, and elderly care had trouble governing the city's growing population, and traditional institutions such as the Dutch Reformed Church started to lose its grip on the population with the incursion of other denominations, such as Lutherans who, for example, in the period 1651-1655 accounted for 23 percent of all the baptisms in the city.<sup>7</sup>

On the other side of the spectrum, the economic boom of the city and Republic spawned wealth and prosperity. For the urban elite and the "middling sort," the wealth generated during the Golden Age had allowed them to live an affluent lifestyle. This consumerism was widespread and was unprecedented in the Republic or anywhere else in Europe. Wealthy Amsterdam burghers, for example, resided during the winter in grand palaces on the canals and during the summer retreated to their country estates along the Vecht River to avoid the stench of the canals. They decorated their homes with paintings, collected books, shells, and insects. Some even partook in the tulip mania by paying spectacular prices for rare blooming bulbs. Their evenings were spent at theaters, and they sipped luxurious beverages such as coffee and tea in coffeehouses, frequented cafés and taverns, visited the theater, and amused themselves at fairs.<sup>8</sup> The manner in which parents raised their children also changed. Wealthier parents were inclined to give their sons an aristocratic-like lifestyle, which included private lessons, a university education, and the grand tour. In addition, this wealthy group of young people in Dutch society had plenty of leisure time that could be wisely spent by learning and religious devotion but also carelessly wasted on recreational activities.<sup>9</sup>

## VANITY

The emerging affluent lifestyle and secularization of Dutch society clashed with the ideals of Reformed (Calvinist) churchmen who strove for a sober and pious lifestyle. As they argued, the Dutch revolt was fought against the papal tyranny of Catholic Spain, but now the inhabitants of the Republic had fallen prey to the tyranny of consumerism and lechery.<sup>10</sup> At the helm of this lifestyle of abundance were young people who had too much leisure time and who were consumed with their physical appear-

ance. The wealth generated in the early seventeenth century had also influenced how young people expressed themselves in fashion and recreational activities. Since the 1620s and 1630s, affluent Dutch youths were growing accustomed to having consumer products such as songbooks and clothing that were produced especially for them. This generation of young people, for example, was known for defying soberness by wearing colorful and flamboyant clothing and donning floppy hats.<sup>11</sup> By midcentury, Otto Belcampius thought that the youth's infatuation with appearance had gotten out of hand. In his treatise *Hora novissima* (The Last Hour; 1661), he accused young people of being vain and thought that young women had become slaves of the latest fashions, which he considered to be downright wicked. Belcampius called these young women "Jezebels" who had felt no disgrace by exposing parts of their body that nature had intended to be concealed: "How horrifying! What a disfigured and wicked beauty, begot in hell." Most likely, the only nudity these women were guilty of was wearing sleeves shortened to the elbow. During the Sunday sermon, not all these women took these accusations sitting down. Some stood up and defended their appearances by arguing that they were in the prime of their life and of finding a husband, and why should they hide all their attributes? When it came to young men, Belcampius's finger-pointing commented on not only their physical appearances but also their manliness. He accused them of wearing long hair, having prissy mannerisms, and acting ashamed of being born men.<sup>12</sup> A similar complaint had been voiced earlier, in 1645, in a sermon by Dordrecht's minister, Jacobus Borstius, who argued that even King James I of England (who was known for his long hair and long nails) had pleaded with his eldest son not to wear his hair long because it made him look like a fool. In addition to this example, Borstius referred to a book that was published in 1556 by Hadrianus Junius—who was a doctor in medicine—and had questioned the purpose of long hair when it seemed to be a refuge for lice and other creatures. In the end, Borstius considered men with long hair to be vain and frivolous; it was a sign of feminine obedience and made men look like whores.<sup>13</sup>

But a girl's naked arm and a boy's long hair and his defiance of masculine norms were not the real issue at hand. Ministers and moralists were more concerned with the wayward lifestyle of young people and the secularization of Dutch society in general. Minister Guiljelmus Saldenus characterized the youth of the early 1650s as being voluptuous and spending more time "vainly gazing at themselves in the mirror instead of reflecting on their impure soul in the perfect law of God's freedom." Saldenus accused the youth of sporting extravagant hats unlike the elderly who wore more modest headwear. He admonished the youth of turning idle gossip into the gospel of the church, and that their indecent love tunes had become its hymns. Saldenus summoned the youth not to offer the best years of their life (wine) to the devil and the rest (sediment) to God. Saldenus drew parallels with Israel and the Dutch Republic. The political and economic setbacks that the Republic encountered during the 1650s were considered to be God's judgment of the "aggravating and summoning sins" that the Dutch nation had brought on itself. These included swearing, drunkenness, and defying the Sabbath.<sup>14</sup> According to *Den donder-slach der goddeloosen* (The Thunderbolt of the Ungodly; 1660), by the lay theologian Cornelis van Niel, a wicked lifestyle had manifested itself in a series of public sins. Van Niel feared that God would reckon with those guilty of paganism, prostitution, adultery, haughtiness, drunkenness, lechery, hypocrisy, backbiting, vulgarity, sycophancy, and not observing the Sabbath.<sup>15</sup> Without a doubt, the church was distressed about the moral developments in the Republic. In the

course of the seventeenth century, the Reformed Church council of Amsterdam tried to muscle municipal governments into closing down the city theater, prohibiting gambling halls, restricting drinking establishments and dance schools, banning brothels, eliminating any kind of populace celebration or ritual that reeked of Catholicism, and preventing any activities that took place on and defied the Sabbath.<sup>16</sup>

### DEFYING THE SABBATH

In 1658, when the Mennonite village of De Rijp burned to the ground for the second time within four years, Rotterdam's reformed minister Simon Simonides, a former resident of De Rijp, interpreted the blaze to be a warning from God: "The youth are flirtatious, spend their time in inns and houses of the devil on the Sabbath, and celebrate the Holy days with ungodly activities, drinking, dancing, mocking, cursing, swearing."<sup>17</sup> Throughout the century, the Reformed Church tried to get the municipal governments to bring public life on Sunday to a halt. The Sabbath had to be observed. For some ministers, people were not allowed to conduct business, bake bread, sweep the stoop, dance, drink alcohol, or play cards. Some clergy even preached against shaving on the Sabbath.<sup>18</sup> Church councils petitioned to have any kind of business activities, from markets, fairs, inns, cafés, and brothels to amusement and dance halls, closed on Sunday. In regard to young people, church authorities and moralists tried to expel youths from dancing on the Sabbath. In a print titled *Jeugd die vermaningen van een filosoof in de wind slaat* (A Philosopher Who Admonishes the Youth Is Pissing in the Wind; 1596), the didactic message is that those who dance around the Golden Calf will be punished, and it threatens the untamed youthful dancers of today about God's wrath if they continue in their alarming leisure activity. The artist, Jan Saenredam, emphasized the ungodliness of the youth by illustrating them dancing in front of a church. There were numerous prints with this allure in the early seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup> By the mid-seventeenth century, however, the church council in many cities was losing its crusade. Whereas ministers considered dancing to be erotic and eventually induce promiscuity, the Dutch elite gave their children dance lessons as part of their formal education. Dance was considered good for the physical development and posture of children, and special dance schools were founded for the purpose of instructing children. Especially among the lower ranks, dancing could not be stamped out. Dancing at weddings was traditional, and most ignored any moral reprimands from the pulpit. Nevertheless, the dressing-down of young people who danced continued to be resounded. In *Een kort tractaetjen van de danssen* (A Short Treatise on Dancing; 1644), Gisbertius Voetius clearly pointed out the fate of dancers: "The many steps one dances equals the leaps made going towards hell."<sup>20</sup> In *Den geestelijken alarm* (The Spiritual Alarm; 1648), minister Adrianus Hasius portrayed young people as "dim-witted and foolish" and who spent their time in cafés dancing and partaking in indecent behavior. Ministers and moralists believed that if the country's youth were doing it, their parents were allowing it or, even worse, were partaking in such vices themselves. Moreover, parents were expected to be moral role models for their children.<sup>21</sup> In 1651, Utrecht's church council muscled its city government into banishing dancing completely, whereas before it was only forbidden on the Sabbath. Eight years later, however, the General Assembly of the States of Utrecht informed the province's synods to no longer interfere with measures involving the observance of the Sabbath. If Utrecht's municipal government would not prosecute offenders, then its own church



council would. In the period 1640-1660, numerous church members in Utrecht were punished for dancing, whereas in Amsterdam and other cities in Holland the number of prosecutions declined.<sup>22</sup>

## THEATER

One of the greatest squabbles that the church council had with municipal governments was the theater. The podium was an equal rival to the pulpit in forming social, political, and ethical opinions of the populace.<sup>23</sup> Theater performances were attended by young and old, and rich and poor, in the seventeenth century. If the tickets were inexpensive, the performance and its entire ambiance could be assured of rowdiness. Large groups of loud and rambunctious youths would drink and have a merry time during the performance. The rich sat in the balcony seats, and the poor were tightly squeezed in below. Despite the rules that forbid guests from drinking and eating candy during the performance, everybody drank beer (both the public and actors). Especially during comedies and farces, the public could not restrain their emotions. During the performance, they laughed, cried, clamored, made love, and sometimes fought.<sup>24</sup> But this seedy venue was not the only thorn in the side of moralists. The content of the plays annoyed moralists more than anything else, because they sometimes involved erotic and blasphemous themes. In his 1667 bash on the theater performance of *d'Overtuyghde Dina* (Dina Persuaded), Saldenus accused plays with erotic themes as being titillating to audiences, even those who pretended to be "esprits forts."<sup>25</sup> Gisbertus Voetius, professor in theology at the University of Utrecht, especially condemned performances with biblical themes in his *Disputatio de comoediis* (1650): "Those who try to portray divine persons, judgements, and deeds profane the holy, because the 'great mysteries' are meant to be bowed before and feared."<sup>26</sup> Voetius was not alone in his ideas, because most other Protestant ministers agreed that the Word of God was not meant to be ridiculed but rather to reform man.<sup>27</sup> Even the Frisian stadholder, Willem Frederik, who was well acquainted with the lecherous lifestyle led at other European royal courts, considered Amsterdam's theater to be immoral and blasphemous.<sup>28</sup> In 1654, Amsterdam's city theater had gone too far when it staged Joost van den Vondel's *Lucifer*. Minister Petrus Wittewrongel crusaded to get the performance banned,<sup>29</sup> and due to the national crisis of the First Dutch-Anglo War (1652-1654), he was successful in strong-arming the city council. The lengths to which the city government went were not, however, exactly what the church had hoped for. The performance of *Lucifer* was outlawed, but to the disappointment of the church council, the theater was not shut down. Vondel's book edition of *Lucifer* was banned. Booksellers, however, were tipped in advance that the books would be confiscated and had enough time to hide them.<sup>30</sup>

## GAMBLING

Gambling was another leisure activity of the young that ministers and moralists admonished or condemned. In Amsterdam and other cities in the Dutch Republic, there were *speelhuizen*, or gambling halls, where men could play dice and cards. When one played dice, cards, or backgammon, or bought a lottery ticket, man used fate and took God's name in vain by asking for his help in winning. This was breaking the third



commandment ("Thou shall not take the name of the Lord in vain"). In his popular *Catechizatie over den Heidebergischen catechismus* (Catechization of the Heidelberg Catechism; 1652), Petrus de Witte accentuated chance games to be a violation of the eighth commandment ("Thou shall not steal") because the winner won money by a dishonorable means whereas the loser squandered his. De Witte explained to his youthful readers that if they broke that commandment, then they would be inclined to break most other commandments as well. For card players and dice rollers, a life of insulting, lying, drinking, cursing and swearing, quarrelling, fighting, and even murder was not far away.<sup>31</sup>

Ministers not only tried to caution about the dangers of playing chance games when people were old enough to partake in such vices, but they also forewarned parents through sermons and young children through catechization books. In *Inleydinghe in Zions-schale* (Introduction into the School of Zion; 1661), Bernhardus Wallenkamp cautioned youths at length about the evils of playing dice and cards. Readers probably never forgot the morbid consequences from playing such games, because Wallenkamp used an anecdote about an inn in which 800 tons of gunpowder was being stored, which was struck by lightning. In the aftermath of the explosion, the innkeeper, named Kroes—which is Dutch for beer tanker—and some of the other guests were found with cards in their hands. As the story goes, they had been summoned before God for their sins.<sup>32</sup> Saldenus also voiced his disgust for playing cards in *Kaert-spel* (Card Game; 1665). The bottom line of this forty-three-page booklet spewed Saldenus's disdain for the secularization of Dutch society. Playing cards received top billing, and he gave twenty-four reasons why it was harmful. Besides it being a chance game and requiring little or no mental effort, Saldenus was concerned about its side effects such as wasting time and squandering money, cursing and swearing if one of the players was losing, becoming addicted to it, and bickering and fighting if someone loses. Saldenus argued that because all these sins are a direct result of playing cards, it is better not to.<sup>33</sup> As adults, many men—pious and not so pious—admitted to having enjoyed playing a game of cards when they were young. In hindsight, they considered it one of the sins of youth. Especially those who converted to the Protestant religion often confessed to many of these sins, which emphasized a newly found piety.<sup>34</sup>

## DRINKING

Top on the list of national activities was consuming alcohol. Drinking was more or less second nature to the Dutch. While visiting the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth century, the Italian Guiccinardini remarked that because the climate was so damp and melancholic, a good stiff drink was needed to make life bearable, and the inhabitants of Amsterdam did just that.<sup>35</sup> In addition to being a remedy against melancholy, consuming alcohol was an integral part of Dutch cultural life. People toasted with alcoholic beverages when pregnancies were announced, when children were born, when people graduated, and when people died, and many other milestones between birth and death. Drinking alcoholic beverages started at an early age.<sup>36</sup> Many youths drank and got drunk, but not all of them got arrested. Seventeen-year-old Dirck Janse did. On one September afternoon in 1655, after attending a funeral, Dirck got smashed. In a stupor, he staggered home and sharpened his knife on the bricks of houses along the way. Dirck must have been an angry drunk because by the time he arrived at home, he

attacked his stepfather with the knife and hit his mother while she tried to stop him. Luckily, he did not kill either of them, but they did have him arrested, and when his mother told the police about his crimes, Dirck Janse could not remember anything.<sup>37</sup>

For ministers and moralists, the root of lecherous lifestyle started with excessive drinking. Throughout the century, municipal governments tried to curb youths from drinking. Orphans, for example, could easily be prohibited from drinking because they were dressed in uniforms depicting the city's colors and could be spotted when they frequented drinking establishments. If they were caught, they faced being expelled from the orphanage. Young people under the age of twenty-five in the small North Holland town of Graft were restricted from drinking too much, because innkeepers were not allowed to give them tabs. That way, they could only drink as much as they could pay for instead of putting it on credit.<sup>38</sup> Parents often warned their adolescent sons while away from home about the dangers of excessive drinking. Intoxication was not just a vice. It also had a domino effect that would result into a slippery slope of vices. Once a young man had become drunk, he was capable of committing other sins such as violence and promiscuous behavior.<sup>39</sup> Complete abstinence or moderate alcohol consumption was a real challenge for Dutch society in the early modern period. Before the 1650s and 1660s, when coffee and tea were introduced, drinking beer and other distilled beverages was safer than drinking water from the canals, which was often contaminated.<sup>40</sup> The church council's crusade against excessive alcohol consumption was, therefore, an uphill battle. The state of being inebriated was a recurring topic in the meetings of the Amsterdam church council but was difficult to stamp out.<sup>41</sup> Especially in university towns like Leiden, Franeker, and Groningen that had high concentrations of young men, excessive drinking had become rampant. According to the University of Groningen's theology professor, Samuel Maresius, however, not all the students could be lumped together as excessive drinkers. He categorized them into four groups: the *academici* (those who used their time only studying), the *stoici* (those who spend their time in the corridors of the university and sometimes attended lectures), the *peripatetici* (those who frittered their time walking, also in the direction toward the café), and the *hedonici* (those who dedicated their lives to "wijntje en trijntje" — wine and women).<sup>42</sup> It was probably the *hedonici* who were responsible for the student revolt that took place in 1652 and 1655, when stones were tossed at his windows and pistols were fired inside his house.<sup>43</sup>

## FORNICATING

In the realm of the slippery slope for young men, Dutch Calvinists did not immediately equate alcohol consumption with violence, but they did regard excessive drinking to be one step away from the temptations of the flesh. Cafés and gambling halls were frequented primarily by men for drinking, playing dice and cards, and chatting. With large concentrations of young men, it was not long before lewd women found their way to these amusement halls, which in turn attracted more men. The establishments often had a few rooms upstairs where these women lived. Eventually, many amusement halls evolved into brothels. In Amsterdam, for example, there was, as it seemed to be, an amusement hall for each social group. One English traveler described Amsterdam's Hof van Holland (the Court of Holland) to be an upscale amusement hall with well-dressed young women who often found their first customer as a whore at this establishment. At the other end of the market, there were numerous sleazy amusement

halls/brothels that were frequented by day workers and sailors from the East India Company. At these establishments, all kinds of mayhem could and did take place.<sup>44</sup>

Whereas more moderate moralists such as the best-selling author, Jacob Cats, aimed to help young people channel their sexuality, the main objective of pious reformers in the Republic was to restrain the sexuality of young unmarried people completely.<sup>45</sup> In the eyes of moral reformers, fornication defied the laws of God in which sexual intercourse was only to take place in the marital bed and for the sake of procreation. Especially for women, premarital sex was dangerous. They lost their virginity and ruined their reputation, and that limited their chances on the marriage market. Even for those who were engaged, the church council admonished them if their children was born within nine months after marriage.<sup>46</sup> Promiscuous behavior of the young was not only a moral problem for ministers, but also a social menace to the residents of university towns. Leiden's inhabitants complained regularly about the whore-hopping and gallivanting of students, and the university's judicial court often admonished them for their whoring. In some cases, university officials had to prosecute students in paternity suits when their mistresses of Leiden's lower strata became pregnant. For young men of the urban elite, a paternity suit from a woman of lower social standing was damaging for the economic preservation of the family. If he was obligated to marry, the family missed any chance of aligning with another family of the same standing. Men of the urban elite and aristocracy they never married out of rank willingly (i.e., they married out of their rank only when obliged to do so).<sup>47</sup>

Ministers were not only concerned with young unmarried men who sought after their carnal urges with prostitutes and other women. They were also concerned with erotic submission that was aroused by reading bawdy works. There was such a great abundance of lewd literature printed and available in the Dutch Republic that by the end of the seventeenth century, it had earned the reputation of being "the European centre of dirty book publishing."<sup>48</sup> In the farce *Lucifer in zyn biegt-stoel* (Lucifer in His Confession Chair; 1698), a surgeon admits to having been led to a life of lechery when he started looking at dirty pictures as a sixteen-year old student. After getting horny from viewing illustrations in an anatomy book, he seduced a maid and another woman. The maid became pregnant and died during a miscarriage. He became a whore-hopper, and the other woman turned into a prostitute.<sup>49</sup> According to the popular *'t Amsterdamsch hoerdom* (Amsterdam's Whoredom; 1687)—a tell-all about the lives of prostitutes—many girls started out in honorable occupations but were forced into the sex business for financial survival after they became pregnant out of wedlock.<sup>50</sup>

## MORALISTS

Who were these moralists, and what did they hope to achieve with their crusade for reform? Most of them were ministers, and all of them were supporters of a Further Reformation that aimed to translate the Reformed (Calvinist) faith into a pious lifestyle.<sup>51</sup> The leaders of this pietistic movement felt a close affinity with English Puritanism. They encouraged the translation and reading of English "practical" theological works. In the seventeenth century, more theological works were published in the Dutch Republic than in any other country.<sup>52</sup> In many treatises published during the 1650s and 1660s, the Dutch Republic was portrayed as a "second Canaan" and "Dutch Israel."<sup>53</sup> Minister Adrianus Haspius explained the unique relationship between God and the Dutch Republic:

First, God planted us here in the Netherlands just as a second Canaan, a country of abundance, yes, a paradise on earth. Next, the Spanish Pharaoh sought to swallow us alive into a red sea filled with blood of persecution, but God rescued us. Thirdly, the genuine Truth of God, like a real Manna from heaven has descended upon us, moreover he has also destroyed the superstitious walls of the Roman Catholic Jericho by the sounding of the trumpets of the gospel. Finally, God carries the shield of this state, put in the hands of the high command and the smart tactics of our Nassau hero's [*sic*] who fought the Spanish swine, that we with our sword in our hands have been given peace.<sup>54</sup>

After the Eighty Years War with Spain ended in 1648, supporters of the Dutch Further Reformation movement hoped that the government would collaborate with them in creating a theocratic order based on their deductions of the Bible. In *Vredepredicatie* (Peace Sermon; 1648), Maximiliaen Teellinck—a minister from Zeeland and the son of the prominent leader of the Dutch (Further) Reformation movement—argued that a Christian magistrate could not allow papal superstitions and idolatry to be practiced in his community.<sup>55</sup> Theocrats propagating the second Canaan idea believed that God had manifested himself in the course of Dutch history just as he had done for the “chosen tribe” of Israel, and the Dutch were required to behave accordingly due to their privileged alliance with God. Just like the people of Jerusalem, their first obligation was to be members of the “true reformed Protestant faith.” As long as the rest of the Dutch population (roughly 40 percent were Roman Catholic, and there were small groups of Mennonites, Lutherans, and Jews) had not been converted—and moreover were tolerated and, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, allowed to openly practice their denomination—there was still a lot of work to be done before the Republic could consider itself a Dutch Israel.<sup>56</sup> Prosperity and misfortune could be regarded as God's blessings and punishment. The wealth and prosperity generated until 1650 was considered to be God's blessings, but by the middle of the seventeenth century, ministers and moralists detected the beginning of God's wrath. The term used to describe God's relationship with his people stemmed from the Bible. God's wrath, or the Dutch term *toorn*, was not a silent, disapproving parental frown, but rather was a chastisement that punished and had an educative message. The expression of the wrath of God symbolized the unique and pedagogical relationship God had with the Dutch Israel. God's punishing hand was that of a father who was trying to steer his children who had diverted from the moral path. Numerous sermons and publications by reformed ministers and moralists emphasized the fatherly role of God and the Republic's necessity of being an obedient child. The Heidelberg Catechism—the textbook of the Dutch Reformed Church—made clear that obeying the fifth commandment was accompanied with a promise: those living a life of self-denial in accordance with God's commandments would be blessed with long-lasting peace and prosperity. God had proven himself to be a worthy father, and it was the duty of his children to be thankful.<sup>57</sup>

### WAS THERE MORAL DECAY?

The ideas of many of the supporters of the Dutch Further Reformation movement were largely ignored by the majority of the Dutch population. When it came to child-rearing practices in general, parents were more likely to consult the moderate and

more pragmatic books of Jacob Cats, which were best-sellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with more than 300,000 copies sold.<sup>58</sup> The essence of Cats's moral advice was that he understood the follies of being young. In fact, Cats thought it was better for the youth to have sown a few wild oats: "Men moet een paer narreschoenen verslijten, eer men recht wijs wort" (One first has to have been a fool before he can really be wise).<sup>59</sup> Youths of the 1650s and 1660s were doing just as their forefathers had done before. The vanity of young people and their preoccupation with their appearance were not new phenomena. Since the Middle Ages, young people were known for donning flamboyant clothing and having long hair. Especially the latter was a recurring complaint that was voiced by parents and ministers throughout the century. In the 1620s and 1630s, long hair was in style for young men. In all likelihood, by midcentury, aged men (such as ministers) who had to cut their hair short due to thinning hairlines were probably jealous of young men with their thick heads of hair and long locks.

What really upset the church council was when leisure activities took place on the Sabbath. Disturbing the peace on the Sabbath was a recurring grievance heard by city councils. Anything causing racket in the near vicinity of the church on Sunday, such as markets, fairs, and taverns open during church services, became the target of church authorities. Municipal councils, in contrast, did not want to shut down the whole city on Sunday and compromised by only prohibiting business activity in the direct surrounding of church buildings. Markets, fairs, and taverns just moved their business around the corner.<sup>60</sup>

When it came to theater, the youth were less receptive to the pleas from the pulpit. Young people were found not only in the audience but also on the stage. In the early modern period, many young men joined a theater group. Already in the sixteenth century in the Southern Netherlands, theater companies of young and old alike put on plays, and some were even called *schole* because they taught young men how to write poetry and stage play productions. By the seventeenth century, these theater companies swayed over to the Northern Netherlands and were common phenomena in every prominent city of the Republic. They were considered an important contribution to a city's intellectual and cultural life.<sup>61</sup> In this regard, moralists and ministers were ambiguous about the theater. Although condemning this form of entertainment in his *Disputatio de comoediis*, Voetius could, however, see the positive side of theater. Plays that depicted moral virtues and historic heroic feats were not all bad if positive virtues were justly portrayed, and if friendship and faith were not drenched in travesty and jesters. In these cases, acting had a didactic quality that allowed casuists to practice their oratory skills.<sup>62</sup> Considering that most ministers attended a Latin school and university in which it was common to stage performances so that students could practice their Latin and speaking in public, the aversion to the theater must have made ministers feel awkward because it was part of their own education.<sup>63</sup> In the early part of the seventeenth century, numerous plays were staged by Calvinist authors portraying their ideologies, however, during the 1650s and 1660s their performances became less frequent.<sup>64</sup> The seventeenth-century playwright and historiographer P. C. Hooft regarded the theater to be as effective as the pulpit in propagating good morals.<sup>65</sup> This thought must have been frightening to ministers, and the theater remained a threat to them. Despite their continual protests, most theater companies in Holland flourished. In The Hague—where the Republic's stadholder resided—the theater prospered during the reign of Stadholder Willem II (1647-1650). The stadholders often imitated the mun-

dane aristocratic French lifestyles led at the royal courts throughout Europe. Willem II, who was married to Mary Stuart (daughter of James II of England), frequented brothels, gambled for exorbitant amounts of money, went on drinking binges, and was often found in the theater when his advisors needed him.<sup>66</sup> This was peculiar considering that the Reformed Church regarded the House of Orange as its patron and protector of the "true faith." The church's row with the theater was more complicated. In 1650, when Willem II died at the age of twenty-six, the Reformed Church had lost its patron. The position would not be filled until 1672 (the Disaster Year). During this period without a stadholder, the regents of the town councils of Holland had free rein. Especially during the 1650s and 1660s, the municipal councils had a policy of *laissez-faire*.<sup>67</sup> When it came to the church's request to close the theater, most municipal councils were traditionally apprehensive of passing laws that would "upset" the natural economic order of the city. Most city councils had a policy of tolerant pragmatism. Municipal governments were "concerned above all with minimizing the disruptive consequences of the bitter political and religious divisions in society and restoring a semblance of political, religious and social stability."<sup>68</sup> That was also the case for other vices that tempted youths, and men in general.

Excessive drinking, for example, was found in all strata of the population from day laborers to surgeons, schoolteachers, professors, magistrates, and even ministers. Church council members were also among the guilty.<sup>69</sup> In the northern province of Friesland, the most common sin of ministers was drunkenness.<sup>70</sup> Many times, ministers were accused of being inebriated in the pulpit. Some were even known to be heavy drinkers and for their bright red noses. Such a rumor was comical, but the allegations were not taken lightly. Accusing a minister of being intoxicated had detrimental effects for his career. In the North American colony of Nieuw-Nederland, Pieter Stuyvesant's predecessor, Governor-General Willem Kieft, tried to undermine the authority of Nieuw-Amsterdam's minister Everhardus Bogardus in 1644 by accusing him of being drunk in the pulpit. The Dutch West India Company—which employed both men—took these allegations seriously and ordered Kieft and Bogardus back to Holland to appear before the company's directors.<sup>71</sup> In the public sphere, game halls, cafés, and brothels were rarely shut down or banned despite the numerous pleas from church councils. An occasional hall that fronted as a brothel might be raided, and the prostitutes arrested, but this was only a temporary and cosmetic solution in reforming society, and many establishments reopened at another location.<sup>72</sup> In university towns, excessive alcohol consumption among young men was an important rite of passage and part of male youth culture in the seventeenth century. According to the English gender historian Alexandra Shepard,

[C]ollective drinking was one of the lubricants of young men's fraternal bonding and comradeship, involving elaborate rituals as group revellers with a disruptive agenda transformed and inverted regular patterns of male conviviality into extremes of intemperate debauchery. While such rituals were not age specific, they were clearly age related, occupying a central place in male youth culture.<sup>73</sup>

### DISASTERS AND MORAL PANIC REVISITED

If the youth were being themselves as they had always been, then what was exactly the problem? How do we explain this eruption of moral panic in the 1650s and 1660s?



Most likely, this wave of moral panic by moralists and ministers was not really intended toward Holland's young people at all, but rather it was a protest from the pulpit addressed at town councils and the empowered urban regents who had failed to help them in creating the "Dutch Israel," a theocratic state that members of the Further Reformation had long hoped for. Relating natural disaster and mayhem to moral decay was an age-old tool in the religious/political arena. When thousands had lost their lives during the All Saints' Day Flood of 1570, Roman Catholic moralists interpreted the disaster to be God's vengeance on the Protestant revolt—"an expression of God's anger and a punishment for men's sinful and 'Epicurean' life"—and made references to the biblical flood, the wrath on Sodom and Gomorrah, Nineveh, and the sinful Jerusalem.<sup>74</sup> Some twenty-odd years later, the prominent historiographer Emmanuel van Meteren argued that the All Saints' Day disaster was one in a series of periodical floods that plagued the North Sea coastline. According to Van Meteren, the flood—just like many of the other previous floods in the Middle Ages—was due to "particular geographical and climatic circumstances in the Low Countries and was not a supernatural punishment for the revolt against the political status quo."<sup>75</sup> Protestant moral crusaders of the 1650s and 1660s used the same tactics as their Roman Catholic rivals had done a century earlier. They portrayed the flood of 1651, the First Dutch-Anglo War (1652-1654), the economic recession of the 1650s, the loss of Brazil to the Portuguese, the burning of the village De Rijp in 1654 and 1658, and the outbreak of the plague in Amsterdam in 1665 as harbingers of God's wrath. For these moralists, predicting hell and damnation was a pedagogical tool, which they hoped would frighten church members—and secular society in general—to reform from their lecherous lifestyles. In this almost Puritanical-like movement aimed to Christianize the Republic's denominationally diverse population, the youth played an integral role.

For ministers and moralists, the youth were a scapegoat. By projecting the vices of secularized Dutch society on young people, ministers would not estrange themselves with admonishing sermons from the adult segment of their congregations. In this regard, ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church walked a tight rope. On one hand, they hoped to rally the congregation behind them to strong-arm municipal councils. In doing so, the will of the people (i.e., the congregation) could be used as a bargaining chip at city hall along with their patron, the House of Orange (if the position of stadholder was occupied). On the other hand, ministers did not want to go off the deep end and alienate themselves from their flock. That worked in the favor of municipal councils, who also used the will of the people as a bargaining chip.<sup>76</sup> Town councils, however, feared the "new popery" of the Reformed Church: not papal rituals but the Reformed Churches' endless attempts to create a state church and ban many of the diverse denominations such as Mennonites, Lutherans, and Arminians that claimed to be Christians, and the Jews that Amsterdam's town council allowed to settle within its city limits. Besides this liberal religious tolerance, there was another thorn in the side of the church council. Whereas the Reformed Church had no direct influence on the town council, Amsterdam's burgomasters did have exclusive veto rights when electing ministers. And many times, they disagreed with the candidates proposed by the church council. The Reformed Church had little clout, and the only political platform they had was in the sermons from the pulpit.

Reproaching sermons were not only intended for non-Calvinistic town council members and their ungodly lifestyles. Moralists and ministers were admonishing all people who succumbed to secularization.<sup>77</sup> Dutch Calvinist ministers—just like their



Puritan counterparts in England and America—hammered on sin. For them, awareness of sin was a precondition for salvation. One American Puritan noted in his diary a list of sins that occurred naturally during a man's life: "first bad company, then lust sometimes leading to 'self-pollution' (masturbation), then love of the world and the world's goods, then hypocritical pride in spiritual glory, and finally sloth, one's laziness before the task of self-humiliation."<sup>78</sup> This same feeling of sin was felt by Calvinists and was often the incentive in the early modern period for keeping a journal. The Frisian stadholder Willem Frederik (1613-1661), who had a pious upbringing, kept a detailed tally of his vices. While in his thirties, he listed going to the theater, gambling, drinking, visiting brothels and going to bed with prostitutes, and "self pollution."<sup>79</sup> Although masturbation in the seventeenth century had not yet become the shame and guilt-laden vice that it later became in the eighteenth century after the publication of the English treatise *Onania; or the Heinous Sin of Self Pollution, and All Its Frightfull Consequences*, it was an activity that men (and women) did alone and preferred not to boast about.<sup>80</sup> Moralists could easily appeal to men's feelings of shame in these matters.<sup>81</sup>

In the late eighteenth century, Dutch bourgeoisie moralists unleashed another wave of moral panic. This time, the moral decay of Dutch society was blamed on the urban elite. During the political and social unrest—and the general economic decline of the Republic—in the late eighteenth century, the attacks reached a zenith. The urban elite of the Dutch Golden Age, who once had a merchant mentality that had made them and the country wealthy, had become fat and lazy by the eighteenth century. Their lifestyles imitated those of French aristocrats. They had become recluses in their country manors, ate lavishly, drank copiously, dressed decadently, were promiscuous, spoke French instead of Dutch, went to the theater, and had their children wet-nursed, and young men acted effeminate and had dandy-like airs.<sup>82</sup> In the 1780s, public animosity toward the urban elite and the political status quo had peaked with the Patriot revolution, which temporarily ousted the old political regime and was replaced by followers of the more enlightened Patriot movement.<sup>83</sup>

Using moral panic as a caustic tool in rocking the political order was by no means a Dutch phenomenon. After having lost their personified political power in Oliver Cromwell, similar tactics were used by English Protestants during the 1660s. According to Lawrence Stone, the collapse of moral Puritanism in 1660 unleashed English society into an age of secularization, which meant free reign for the libido. In elite circles, there was a revolution of sexual attitudes that gained momentum in the eighteenth century. In the period 1660-1800, England had developed into a libertine and morally decaying society. Especially the elite became receptive to every kind of sexual device, deviation, and diversion ranging from adultery to using dildoes and condoms and reading pornography.<sup>84</sup> A wave of moral panic was again unleashed in Victorian England in the late nineteenth century. Again, finger-pointing moralists accused England's youth of gambling, visiting the theater, excessive drinking, and promiscuity.<sup>85</sup> It was the same old recipe.

## NOTES

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32. B. Wallenkamp, *Inleydinghe in Zions-scholen. Dat is, naerder onderwijsinghe, hoe dat alle sonen ende dochteren in de kennisse ende vrees des Heeren behooren opgevoedt te werden* (Utrecht: Meinardus van Dreunen, 1661); and L. F. Groenendijk, "Kansspelen in het ethische discours van gereformeerde theologen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 15 (1999): 74-85.
33. E. S., *Kaert-spel, dat is, Kort en nodig Onderzoek: of 't een Christen in conscientie geoorloft zij . . . met de Kaert te Spelen?* (The Hague: Gerrit van Blockhuys, 1665); and Van den End, *Guiljelmus Saldenus*, 158-62.
34. J. Pollman, *Een andere weg naar God. De reformatie van Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000), 36, 51. This is a Dutch translation of *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999).
35. On citation from R. B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam II* (Amsterdam: Ten Have, 1967), 96-97.
36. B. B. Roberts, "Drinking Like a Man: The Paradox of Excessive Drinking for Seventeenth-Century Dutch Youths," *Journal of Family History* 29 (2004): 237-52.
37. Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Judicial archives, no. 5066 (1655).
38. A. Th. van Deursen, *Een dorp in de polder. Graft in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1995), 246-47.
39. B. B. Roberts, "On Not Becoming Delinquent: Raising Adolescent Boys in the Dutch Republic, 1600-1750," in *Becoming Delinquent: British and European Youth, 1650-1950*, ed. P. Cox and H. Shore (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2002), 41-56.
40. D. P. Pers, *Suyp-stad of dronkaertsleven*, introduction and commentary by J. Verlaan and E. Grootes (1628; reprint, Culemborg, the Netherlands: Tjeenk Willink/Noorduijn, 1978), 30-31; and J. C. van der Stel, *Drinken, drank en dronkenschap. Vijf eeuwen drankbestrijding en alcoholhulpverlening in Nederland. Een historisch-sociologische studie* (Hilversum, the Netherlands: Verloren, 1995), 55-60.
41. P. Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland* (1962; reprint, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), 170-76; and C. D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland during the Stuart Period* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1989), 157-58.

42. S. Maresius, "Oratio quae est De Cauponis," in *Senio sacrarum Dissertationum, propositarum et habitarum in Academijs Groning-Omlandica* (Groningen, the Netherlands: Joh. Nicolaas, 1653).
43. D. Nauta, *Samuel Maresius* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1935), 219-20.
44. L. van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996), 278.
45. B. B. Roberts and L. F. Groenendijk, "'Wearing Out a Pair of Fool's Shoes': Sexual Advice for Youth in Holland's Golden Age," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13 (2004): 139-56.
46. M. van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland. Stedelijke rechtspraak en kerkelijke tucht 1550-1700* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1998), 96-102.
47. M. Wingens, "Jeugdige lichtzinnigheid en losbandigheid. Seksueel gedrag en seksuele beleving van studenten ten tijde van de Nederlandse Republiek," in *Grensgeschiedenissen in de seks. Bijdragen tot een culturele geschiedenis van seksualiteit*, ed. G. Hekma (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1991), 7-28; and M. van der Heijden, "Women as Victims of Sexual and Domestic Violence in Seventeenth Century Holland: Criminal Cases of Rape, Incest, and Maltreatment in Rotterdam and Delft," *Journal of Social History* 33 (2000): 623-44. At the stadholder's court, it was not unusual for unmarried men to fornicate with women of the lower strata and to frequent brothels. Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*, 129-35.
48. W. W. Mijnhart, "Politics and Pornography in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth Century Dutch Republic," in *The Invention of Pornography. Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*, ed. L. Hunt (New York: Zone, 1993), 296-98; and I. Leemans, *Het woord is aan de onderkant. Radicale ideeën in Nederlandse pornografische romans, 1670-1700* (Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Uitgeverij Van Tilt, 2002), 147-57. See also I. Leemans, "De sexshop van Europa. De Nederlandse productie en verspreiding van pornografische romans in de zeventiende eeuw," *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 7 (2000): 81-96.
49. S. Rusting, *De vol-geestige werken* (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1698); and J. H. Böse, "Had de mensch met één vrou niet connen leven . . ." *Prostitutie in de literatuur van de zeventiende eeuw* (Zutphen, the Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 1985), 53.
50. S. de Vries, 't *Amsterdamsch hoerdom. Behelzende de listen en strecken, daar zich de hoeren en hoere-waardinnen van dienen; benevens der zelve maniere van leeven, dwaaze bygelovigheden, en in 't algemeen alles 't geen by dese juffers in gebruik is* (Amsterdam: Timotheus ten Hoorn, 1687).
51. J. R. Beeke, "The Dutch Second Reformation (De Nadere Reformatie)," *Calvin Theological Journal* 28 (2): 300-1. See also Joel R. Beeke, *Assurance of Faith: Calvin, English Puritanism, and the Dutch Second Reformation* (New York: Lang, 1991).
52. W. Heijting, *Protestantism Crossing the Seas: A Short-Title Catalogue of English Books Printed before 1801 Illustrating the Spread of Protestant Thought and the Exchange of Ideas between the English Speaking Countries and the Netherlands* ('t Goy-Houten, the Netherlands: Hes & De Graaf, 2000); C. W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600-1700* (Leiden: Brill & Leiden University Press, 1983); and P. G. Hoftijzer, "Het Nederlandse boekenbedrijf en de verspreiding van Engelse wetenschap in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw," *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 5 (1998): 59-72.
53. F. A. van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture: The Further Reformation in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic," in *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives*, ed. W. Fred Graham (Kirkville, Miss.: Northeast Missouri State University Press, 1994), 409-29; and Beeke, "The Dutch Second Reformation (De Nadere Reformatie)," 303.
54. A. Hasius, *Konincklijke leyd-ster na den hemel. Voor-ghestelt in XVII. Geestelijke meditatie over den 32. Psalm David*, 2nd ed. (Rotterdam: Joh. Vishouck, 1656), 3.
55. M. Teellinck, *Vredespredicatie, uyt-gegeven voor de Vrye Nederlanders*, intro. W. Th. M. Frijhoff (Amsterdam: Jacobsz, 1648; reprint, Rump, the Netherlands: De Schatkamer, 1998).



56. B. J. Kaplan, "'Dutch' Religious Tolerance: Celebration and Revision," in *Calvinism and Religious Tolerance in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia and H. van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8-26.

57. L. Groenendijk, "De 'vaderlijke kastijding' in het theocratisch-pedagogisch vertoog van de gereformeerden uit de tweede helft van de zeventiende eeuw," *Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van opvoeding en onderwijs* 1 (2000): 138-58.

58. B. van Selm, *Inzichten en vergezichten. Zes beschouwingen over het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse boekhandel* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1992), 68-69; and K. Porteman, *Inleiding tot de Nederlandse emblemataliteratuur* (Groningen, the Netherlands: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1970), 141.

59. J. Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden en Nieuwen Tyt in Alle de Wercken I* (1632; reprint, Utrecht: W. van de Water, 1700; reprint, Amsterdam: D. van den Dalen, Wed. A. van Someren), 491.

60. S. D. van Veen, *Zondagsrust en zondagsheiliging in de zeventiende eeuw*, 3-6; and T. de Vries, *Overheid en zondagsviering*, 259-61.

61. A. C. van Dixhoorn, *Lustige Geesten: Rederijkers en hun kamers in het publieke leven van de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de vijftiende, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Press, 2004); A. C. van Dixhoorn and B. B. Roberts, "Edifying Youths: The Chambers of Rhetoric in Seventeenth-Century Holland," *Paedagogica Historica* 39 (2003): 325-37; and A. Heppner, "The Popular Theatre of the Rederijkers in the Work of Jan Steen and His Contemporaries," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 3 (1939-1940): 22-38.

62. G. Voetius, *Twistrede over het toneel*, 13-23; L. F. Groenendijk, "De Nadere Reformatie en het toneel," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 5 (1989): 141-53; and Groenendijk, "De Nadere Reformatie," 77-93.

63. J. Koppenol, *Leids heelal. Het loterijspel (1596) van Jan van Hout* (Hilversum, the Netherlands: Verloren, 1998), 123-24; and A. M. Coebergh van de Braak, *Meer dan zes eeuwen Leids gymnasium* (Leiden: Leidsch Dagblad, 1988), 14, 41.

64. In 1617, the Calvinist playwright Jacob Duyum had staged the play *De cloeck-moedighe ende stoute daet, van het innemen des casteels van Breda en verlossinghe der stad*, which portrayed the republic as a "Dutch Israel" being delivered from the chains of Spanish slavery by God. Duits, "'De vrijheid, wiens waardy geen mensch te recht bevat,'" 111-23.

65. Böse, "Had de mensch met één vrou niet connen leven..." (Zutphen, the Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 1985), 47.

66. After the death of Willem II, the theater life of The Hague went into decline, whereas in the rest of the Republic it flourished. G. H. Betz, *Het Haagsche Leven in de tweede helft der zeventiende eeuw*, 2nd printing (The Hague: Hols, 1900), 106-7; and H. Hardenburg, *Halen . . . zakken. Verhalen over artiesten en toneelleven van vroeger en nu* (The Hague: Kruseman, 1976), 17. For an intimate description of the court life of Willem II, see Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*.

67. J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 134-48.

68. J. Israel, "The Intellectual Debate about Toleration in the Dutch Republic," in *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, ed. C. Berkvens-Stevelinck, J. Israel, and G. H. M. Posthumus-Meyjes (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3.

69. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam II*, 96-97; and G. A. Wumkes, *De gereformeerde kerk in de Ommelanden tussen Eems en Lauwers (1595-1796)* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1905), 55. In 1662, the classis of Franeker in Friesland specifically outlined the expected behavior of ministers such as avoiding taverns and not consuming excessive amounts of alcohol and food. E. J. Diest Lorgion, *De Nederduitsche Hervormde kerk in Friesland, sedert haar vestiging tot het jaar 1795* (Groningen: Roelfsema, 1848), 340-43.

70. S. Cuperus, *Kerkelijk leven der Hervormden in Friesland tijdens de Republiek I* (Leeuwarden, the Netherlands: Meijer & Schaafsma, 1916), 188-91.

71. J. Jacobs, *Een zegenrijk gewest. Nieuw-Nederland in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1999), 242; and W. Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz. Een Hollands weeskind op zoek naar zichzelf, 1607-1647* (Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Sun, 1995), 749-56.

72. L. van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996), 278-84.

73. A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 100-1.

74. R. Esser, "Fear of Water and Floods in the Low Countries," in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, ed. W. G. Naphy and P. Roberts (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1997), 67-69.

75. E. van Meteren, *Historie van de Oorloghen en Geschiedenissen der Nederlanden, en der zelve Naburen* (Gorinchem, the Netherlands: Nicolaas Goetzee, 1748), 525-27. Published earlier as *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Historie van onze tijden* (Cologne, 1595; Delft, the Netherlands, 1599).

76. Duits thoroughly explained the political friction between the church and the city theater. H. Duits, "11 november 1621. De Amsterdamse kerkraad stuurt twee afgezanten naar de burgemeester om te klagen ove reen opvoering van Samuel Costers Iphigenia in de Nederduytsche Academie. De moeizame relatie tussen kerk en toneel in de zeventiende eeuw," in *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden. Tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen*, ed. R. L. Erenstein (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 178-85. In this essay, Duits explained the delicate balancing act played by Amsterdam's church council and municipal council concerning the theater. Most likely, this was valid for many other appeals made by the church council. H. Roodenburg, *Onder Censuur*, 321-82; chap. 8 addresses all the mundane vices the church council protested.

77. A. Th. van Deursen, "Church and City Government in Amsterdam," in *Rome and Amsterdam. Two Growing Cities in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. P. van Kessel and E. Schulte (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), 175-79; W. Frijhoff, "Amsterdam in de Gouden Eeuw: het geloofsleven," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 91 (1999): 78-103; and van Lieburg, "From Pure Church to Pious Culture," 409-29. Dutch schoolmasters as well bemoaned that Dutch parents were too indulgent with their children. B. Rang, "'Geeft mijn Kindeken dog sijn willeken': Discussies over opvoeding in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw," in *Cultuurpedagogiek*, ed. J. D. Imelman (Leiden/Antwerp: Nijhoff, 1990), 88-106.

78. D. Leverenz, *The Language of Puritan Feeling. An Exploration in Literature, Psychology, and Social History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1980), 150.

79. Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*, 130.

80. T. W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone, 2003), 25-37; and *De Groote Zonden van vuile zelfs-bevleckinge, door jonge en oude mans—en vrouwen personen, ontdekt . . .* (Dutch translation of *Onania; or the Heinous Sin of Self Pollution, and All Its Frightfull Consequences*), trans. I. V. H. (Rotterdam, 1730), 158-63.

81. M. Stolberg, "Self Pollution, Moral Reform, and the Venereal Trade: Notes on the Sources and Historical Context of Onania (1716)," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 37-61.

82. W. Los, "Op het snijpunt van pedagogiek en politiek. De cultuurkritische intentie van het burgerlijk pedagogische discours in Nederland in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw," in *Promotieonderzoek aan de faculteit der sociale wetenschappen: Entree Assortie ed. B. van Rijd* (Utrecht: Isor, 1995), 73-86; and D. Sturkenboom, *Spectators van hartstocht. Sekse en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum, the Netherlands: Verloren, 1998), 151-59.

83. S. Schama, *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780-1813* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 47-58.

84. L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1977), 543-45.

85. J. Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830-1996* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998).